## THE INDIA COUNCIL.

WRITTEN FOR THE COBDEN CLUB

BY

WILLIAM BIRKMYRE,

OF CALCUTTA AND PORT GLASGOW.



CASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED:

LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, & MELBOURNE.

1885.

Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto

#### THE INDIA COUNCIL.

It is a matter for congratulation to all interested in India that the dangers which threatened war have for the present ceased. A war with Russia meant, among other things, that the commercial development of the country would be retarded, and urgent reforms would be indefinitely postponed, chief among these being the reform of the India Council. It is now nearly thirty years since this Council was constituted. The constitution powers, and duties have remained substantially as originally framed; and as it has existed for nearly thirty years, it cannot be considered inopportune to pass under review the manner in which the Council has fulfilled the duty imposed upon it by Parliament, as also to enquire very briefly whether in the greatly altered circumstances in which India is now placed, a Council could not be found more suited to the present requirements of India.

At the outset we are met with this difficulty, that, as the Council is entirely irresponsible, and conducts its business in secret, it is quite impossible for outsiders to determine accurately as to the usefulness or uselessness of the advice which they tender to the Secretary of State. The only public description we have ever been favoured with regarding this body is from a gentleman, who at one time was a member, and who in his place in Parliament stated:—

"That it was gradually approaching that of permanent "clerks; that it was impossible to say what power the Council "had, and what power it had not. By means of telegrams, "private letters, and political dispatches sent to India, the

"power of the Council was evaded. In reality the power of "the Council was vain, illusory, and dormant. It exercised "no effectual control whatever. He had known many cases "in which a large portion of the members of the Council were "opposed to a certain expenditure, but he had never heard of "a single case in which they had succeeded in arresting that "expenditure. Some of the members of the Council were "old, and some not so old. Some of the members of the "Council were men of independent minds, and some were "subject to influence. The general result was that a man of "great position and power, like the Secretary of State, was able "to have his own way. There were various ways and means by "which he could have his own way by hook and by crook. "he did not get a majority, he had the power of withdrawing "the proposition, to bring it forward some other day when "he could."

It is but due to the Council to state that it is in no way to blame for the secrecy and irresponsibility of its proceedings. It is also due to those interested in India to assert that although theoretically the Council has no power, except that of advising the Secretary of State for India, yet there are so many changes of this official (from 1878 to 1882 there were no less than four different Secretaries of State, three of whom were new to the office), that practically the administration of India rests with the Council, who, as already named, is responsible to no one-not even to the Secretary of State, Parliament, or public opinion. In the nature of things it is impossible that during the existence of this Council burning questions should not have arisen, leading to strong expressions and variations of opinion. Yet a case has never been known of a member resigning in consequence of a policy being sanctioned which he thought inimical to the interest of How very different with the men who are the ultimate repositories of power in this country; for during the same period how often have members of Parliament, to whom the

emoluments of office were a consideration, sacrificed both position and emoluments rather than continue in a Cabinet whose proceedings they could not approve. This exemption from responsibility has far more serious consequences than at first sight appears, as it is unreasonable to expect that Parliament can hold a Secretary of State responsible for acting upon the advice of a Council he never elected. Were either of these parties, in the strict sense of the term, responsible, and bound to report their proceedings for sanction in the same manner that the Cabinet did before the Egyptian finance arrangements were finally settled, it is quite inconceivable how sanction could have been obtained for the purchase, in 1869, of the Elphinstone Land and Press Co., Bombay, for 1,000 rupees per share, when the selling price was 330 rupees; or for the purchase, in 1870, of the East India Irrigation and Canal Cc. for f, 1,000,000, with f,50,000 to f,70,000 as a bonus, whilst the works were unsaleable in the open market at £,600,000. It may safely be said that none of the gentlemen who represented India in these two transactions would have entertained for one moment such a transaction on their own account. We know the exact loss which the empire has sustained through these two transactions, but we cannot estimate the injury which India daily sustains by the confused statements presented (it is but fair to presume by the sanction of the Council) to Parliament, as also to Parliamentary committees, representing imaginary expenditure on exchange transactions with London, as also imaginary deficits made good only by additions to the national debt.

With regard to exchange transactions on London, showing an expenditure of £3,548,000 for the Budget Estimate of 1883-4, there is no such expenditure represented by this amount. All such entries of expenditure—which in this and previous years were shown as Loss by Exchange—are purely fictitious. Many have been the woeful forebodings, both inside and outside the India Office, regarding this [tremendous annual loss]; but, in reality, there is no loss at all, for it arises from the fact

that in all financial statements presented to Parliament the rupee is valued at the fictitious rate of 2s., and were the various items estimated at the rupee value of the day, no such loss or expenditure could have been shown. To illustrate exactly my meaning, had the rupee been valued at 1s. instead of 2s. (and it might just as reasonably be valued at one figure as the other), the result would have shown an enormous surplus, which, all the same, would have been unreal. presenting these statements, it is carefully explained that the rupees are valued at the conventional rate of 2s., but it has never yet been explained under what convention it has been so valued; nor has it ever been explained that this loss is purely imaginary; nor has it ever been explained that, in consequence of giving this arbitrary value to the rupee, it is impossible to state in sterling the true cost of any public work in India, or the percentage which such works yield. It may be argued that valuing the rupee at 2s. is merely for the convenience of book-keeping, but any merchant who showed such a large amount of fictitious expenditure for the convenience of book-keeping would simply be laughed at.

There is a loss or expenditure on account of exchange, but very different from that presented to Parliament. The amount which the Government of India requires to remit annually in satisfaction of obligations in gold may be stated in round numbers at  $f_{17,000,000}$ . It will be evident that if, at the date of contracting obligations in gold, silver was worth 61d. per ounce, giving the rupee a value of 2s., it would require the remittance of R170,000,000, or the equivalent in produce, to meet this annual charge of £,17,000,000. But when silver falls to about 48d. per ounce, which is somewhat near the normal rate, the value of the rupee, expressed in gold, is reduced to less than 1s. 7d., so that, instead of R170,000,000 being sufficient, R216,000,000 would be required as a remittance in satisfaction of this  $f_{17,000,000}$  obligation; the difference (R46,000,000), say, represents an extra number of rupees, or the value in produce requiring to be annually remitted. This gives the appearance of an extra charge upon the revenues of India of about 31 millions sterling, but as against this it is correct to say that the causes which lead to this extra remittance or apparent charge, give at the same time extra facilities for the Indian revenues to bear, if not entirely, yet in a great measure, this additional strain. Government sells its Bills, which are purchased by bankers and merchants, who use the proceeds for the purchase of produce, &c., &c. The increased supplies of produce, owing to the higher value of the rupee in relation to sterling, neutralises largely the required additional rupee remittances. To make my meaning more clear, about £5,000,000 of this £17,000,000, is interest upon the Railway debt of India, and the extra amount of produce carried in consequence of the higher rupee value for produce in India in relation to sterling, enables the Railway Companies to earn much more than the additional number of required rupees. Therefore, as long as the obligations in gold are expended in revenue producing works, no loss can follow. Undoubtedly, much of the gold obligations of India have not been expended in revenue producing works; but the general and increasing prosperity of the country in consequence of increasing exports by the higher rupee value in relation to sterling, has, in reality, caused no drain on the finances by the increased charge on the revenues of India, for during the period of these increasing remittances we have on a net revenue of £,45,000,000 remitted no less than £3,500,000 of taxes, and laid aside £1,500,000 annually as a reserve against famine. If further evidence is required that India has steadily progressed during the very years that this apparent increased drain was taking place, I would respectfully call attention to the enormous increase of the imports of gold. In

			Rs.
1881-82	net imports	were	4.84,39,842
1882—83	ditto		4.93,08,715
1883—84	ditto		5.46,33,166
1884-85	ditto		4.67,33,808

Gold is never used in India for currency purposes; it is entirely an article of luxury, and might very appropriately be taxed when extra taxation is required.

Suppose a crisis did arise, and additional taxation was urgently required. A resumption of the taxes unexpectedly repealed a year ago, they were far from oppressive; stoppage of this financial reserve, and a duty of 25 per cent. upon the import on gold, would give an annual increase of 5½ millions, which, on a net revenue of 45 millions, is as near as may be equivalent to 11 millions on the revenues of England. This, I think, should convince the most sceptical how elastic is our financial position.

Another anxiety dwelt upon ad nauseum (with the sanction, it is fair to presume, of the India Council) before successive Parliamentary Committees, is the enormous stocks of silver held by France, America, and Germany, as also the artificial value given to the metal by the compulsory coinage in America of large amounts annually under the Bland Bill; but in all the utterances of the India office regarding stocks of silver in these countries, variously estimated at £130,000,000 to £140,000,000, it is never hinted that these large amounts are held against indebtedness issued, and could only be sold against gold, which is unobtainable. Bland Bill was repealed to-morrow, and thus all artificial value to the metal withdrawn, silver might fall a little, whereby production would be lessened, but the artificial stimulus to the price of silver being £4,000,000 expressed in gold, it cannot be considered a large sum required, in addition to present absorptions, to be absorbed annually by a country of such limitless resources as India. Much anxiety has been expressed as to the future of silver. Is there no reason to be apprehensive regarding the future of gold, when a country in the infancy of its commercial development can consume, as an article of luxury, in some years no less than 20 to 25 per cent. of the entire production of this precious metal? Cheap silver, this terror to the India Council, means cheap

food for England, cheap cotton for Lancashire, and, moreover, when applied to revenue producing works, means increased prosperity to India.

With regard to the deficits presented to Parliament, which appear, I presume, by the sanction of the Indian Council, it seems that they require to be made good by additions to the National Debt. Now, in the sense in which nearly all the Western Powers have a National Debt, India has none whatever. The Government does annually draw from the people of India enormous sums, variously estimated at £3,000,000 to £6,000,000, and appropriates these sums to the erection of revenue-producing works. India is now heavily taxed for the sake of generations to come. These so-called deficits, unless in exceptional famine years, are simply sums to complete the expenditure on revenue-producing works; but for expenditure on revenue-producing works there would be annually enormous surpluses.

Every million of the National Debt of India is represented by an asset more than an equivalent to the debt itself. India could be free of her National Debt to-morrow without raising one farthing of taxes, by simply selling, if that was thought prudent, all the valuable properties she possesses, and it is not too much to say were such a course adopted there would be great competition among buyers for such valuable assets. What is to be reprehended is, that when the debt is paraded sufficient allowance is not made for the valuable asset which the debt represents.

It may be urged that I take too sanguine a view; but what I contend for is, simply that the principles of finance applied to all the nations of the west should be applied in the same manner to India. I ask Mr. Cross to give to Parliament a complete fiscal statement of the finances of India, upon the identical principles adopted by all the wealthy nations of the west, shewing in detail payments for unproductive works extended over a series of years, as also a mercantile balance sheet shewing in detail every asset, opium included. The

traditions of the British Raj are those of trade. The Government of India is the largest trader in the world, and is it unreasonable to ask for a trading balance sheet?

It is due to Mr. Cross to state that he was the first representative of the Government of India who gave, last year, to Parliament, an approximate mercantile balance sheet of the finances of India. We value every utterance by Mr. Cross upon the finances of India. The only objection to the statement is that it did not represent the commercial assets of India in a sufficiently favourable light; but we welcomed the statement as a vast improvement upon all previous utterances. That such assurances are highly necessary may be gathered from the speech of an ex-Indian Finance Minister, who, so recently as 1879, in addressing the House of Commons declared:—

"That the country was now drifting with accelerating "rapidity into the gulf of bankruptcy."

As long as the annual accounts are presented, presumably by the sanction of the India Council, in their present confused form, it is impossible to say what is the true financial position of the Empire.

Confused and inaccurate as these statements are, they are lucid in contrast with those issued but two or three years ago, where, in one and the same statement, you find, "Gains by exchange," "Losses by exchange," Deficits and Surpluses scattered about in most charming confusion.

Were the proceedings of the India Council subject to the sanction of Parliament or a Committee of the House of Commons, India would not have been burdened with no less than five different railway gauges, one of the most important being fourteen inches less than the tramways at Westminster Bridge; nor would they have sanctioned fixing 1s. 1od. as the rate of exchange in perpetuity, at which most of the guaranteed shareholders receive their dividend in England;

nor would they, in spite of the remonstrances of the Government of India, have sanctioned a system of redeeming the public debt and adding to it in one and the same year; nor would they sanction a system of book-keeping, very fitly described last year by an Indian official witness in these words:—

"One cannot expect commercial men to believe in a "business which cannot produce books which will bear being "looked into;"

Nor would they have treated with such scant courtesy gentlemen desirous of promoting railway enterprise in India. Mr. Miller of Messrs. Hoare, Miller and Co., Calcutta, writes:—

"My first letter was addressed to Sir Louis Mallet, by "whom I was referred to Major Baring; my second advance "was to Major Baring, by whom I was referred to Sir Louis "Mallet. This is literally true, and it is characteristic, and "typical of my experience from the first beginning of my promoting struggles up to the present time."

When on this subject, it may be remarked that in September, 1881, the Government of India forwarded home for approval draft rules, showing how far the Government of India was prepared to assist private enterprise towards developing railway communication in India, but the Secretary of State in Council did not approve of these terms being published, with this result, that to this day no one knows exactly what terms the Government are prepared to give to encourage the construction of railway enterprise in India.

It is no secret that railway promoters are in little favour with the Secretary of State in Council; many would be enlightened were Messrs. Baring, and Rothschilds, to give to the world their experiences of railway promoting in India. To the curious we recommend a study of the negotiations, extending over years, between the Secretary of State in

Council and the Directors of the Great India Peninsular Company, for an extension from Bhopal to Gwalior and Cawnpore. The deliberations of the Council throughout these protracted negotiations were well likened to those of the avaricious and inexperienced housekeeper at the seaside, who expects to serve her own interests most effectively by charging higher rates than her neighbours, and finds at the end of the season that she has merely succeeded in enriching them at her expense. We ask Mr. Cross how it is, that during these weary years of negociations capital flows so freely to other countries, and yet promoters of sufficient standing to satisfy this secret council are not forthcoming for the development of railways in India?

From a perusal of the appendix giving details (published by the authority of Parliament) of the members of the India Council, one is forced to the conclusion that it is hardly reasonable to expect a council, composed, with two exceptions, of civilians and military men who have expended long and arduous service in an enervating foreign country, to be called upon in the evening of their lives, as the ultimate advising authority for the financial and commercial development of a great empire, without previous training.

The secrecy with which the Council's proceedings are conducted has proved itself an element of danger, and must, in our opinion, be most distasteful to every member. I have no sympathy with the views frequently expressed describing the Council as a secret conclave, and as recruited from the class who nearly brought the Empire to ruin thirty years ago. No fault whatever can be found with the individual members of the Council. Most of them are recipients of handsome well-earned pensions from the Government of India, in addition to which they receive for their duties at the India Office  $\mathcal{L}_{1,200}$  per annum, which is not excessive, considering the close attention they require to give to Indian affairs. In any contemplated changes the country could easily afford to pay them handsome retiring allowances, so as to get riddance for

ever of a faulty system. They are all tried, honourable men, who would shrink from recommending any measures which would not bear the closest scrutiny. The mistakes of the past, many and grievous though they have been, have arisen entirely from honest error. Making due allowance for this, I hold they are but the victims of their position, when, owing to the secrecy of their deliberations they, insensibly to themselves, appear to evade the express meaning of Parliament, as the examination of the following proceedings will show:—

The Parliamentary Committee of 1879 recommended that Parliament should allow Secretary of State in Council to borrow for the construction of public works, either in England or India, in the following terms:—

"Your Committee are clearly of opinion that loans for public works in India should always be raised in India "unless the Secretary of State in Council should be satisfied "that the difference between the rates of interest in England "and India is so considerable as to afford full compensation "for the disadvantages which inevitably attend borrowing "in this country."

When the foregoing was sent to India by dispatch of the Secretary of State in Council, dated 23rd October, 1879, as also referred to again in a dispatch of 6th January, 1881, no mention was made whatever as to the exception recommended by the Parliamentary Committee in favour of borrowing in England. Concealment, under all circumstances, should be avoided. I am quite at a loss to understand how the recommendation of the House of Commons was not sent to India in its complete form.

In spite of several assurances made by Under-Secretaries of State to Parliament, that in future the arrangements regarding the construction of public works were to be made with money borrowed in India, yet, to save appearances, the Secretary of State in Council did authorise, in 1882, a

company to borrow in England for public works in India, and deposit this money (viz., £3,000,000) so borrowed with the Secretary of State in Council, who, on the other hand, agreed to pay the Company a guaranteed rate of interest, calculated when due at the current rate of exchange; thus making the transaction to appear an Indian one by complying with the assurances of Under-Secretaries to Parliament, whilst, at the same time, it was practically borrowing in this country, and evading express promises to Parliament. It is but right to add that, in deference to the report of Parliamentary Committee of last year, the transaction now appears as that of a straightforward English one.

The foregoing illustrations sink into insignificance compared with the action which the Secretary of State in Council has taken regarding the report of the recent Select Parliamentary Committee on East Indian Railway communications. It will be recollected that this Select Committee was formed after much agitation on the part of the commercial communities here and in India. The main points of the Committee's report were practically:—

Firstly, that future extensions of railways should be self-supporting, and not be a burden on the taxpayer.

Secondly, that the present limit for borrowing for the construction of public works in India might safely be enlarged: the extent of this enlargement being left uncontrolled with the Secretary of State in Council.

Regarding the first of these conclusions, the report of the committee had not been issued when an expensive military line to Quettah was sanctioned, the cost and working of which will remain for ever a burden on the taxpayers of India. All this was done without the Select Committee being consulted; had they been consulted sanction would doubtless have been obtained, but it certainly showed scant courtesy to ignore completely the deliberations of the committee. We yield to none in the desire

to secure for India adequate military protection, but we do not consider that the construction of military lines should be allowed to check the development of commercial lines, on which, to so great an extent, depends the ability of the country to bear the burdens imposed on it. These military lines mean, when completed, increased taxation, and may be used by the Council as an argument for the stoppage of all further railway development.

With regard to the second recommendation, increasing the present limit for borrowing, we learn from a communication dated 31st March, 1885, from the Secretary of State in Council to the Associated Chamber of Commerce, that in deference to the report of the Select Committee of last session, it had been decided to increase the present annual borrowings by the Government of India for public works, from 250 lakhs to 350 lakhs, the greater part of which it is proposed to spend annually on railways. But the Secretary of State in Council, in making this statement, carefully concealed from the Associated Chamber of Commerce, that by an alteration in a system of accounts, and by bringing altogether new and different classes of charges within the limit prescribed by borrowing for public works, the India Council, true to its old traditions, will secure this result, that while the sums shown in the accounts as borrowed will appear to be larger, the sum available for new commercial lines will be little if at all increased. The old limit of 250 lakhs did not include sums annually required for the capital expenditure on Eastern Bengal and East India Railways, amounting in 1884-85 to 56 lakhs, for 1885-6 to 47 lakhs, whilst the increased limit is inclusive of these amounts.

There are other conditions connected with this increase which it is needless to enter into, but which render this apparent increase practically no increase at all. With due deference to such a high authority as the Secretary of State in Council, I do not think they have done justice to the recommendations of the Select Committee on Railways, nor have they done justice to themselves in giving such misleading

information, without the slightest qualification, to the Associated Chambers of Commerce.

The secrecy with which the Council transact their business, and the inordinate delay which characterises its proceedings, are unworthy of the position held by the members of the Council, and of the great interests committed to their care. France has recently increased her tariff upon two staple exports from India, viz., wheat and Mowa flower, yet no one knows whether these advisers have ever recommended a remonstrance to France on the subject. Many have been the suggestions from most influential quarters as to simplifying the Government of India, so as to render it much more efficient at a greatly reduced cost. Yet these and all similar suggestions are apparently ignored by this advising authority.

The secrecy of the deliberations of the Council recently robbed India of the dearest possession of any nation. I refer to the liberty of the native press. I cannot describe this better than in the language of our Premier:—

"Suddenly, in the dark, in the privacy of the council "chamber, I believe in answer to an order by telegraph, "without the knowledge of Parliament and of the country, a "law was passed totally extinguishing the freedom of the "native press. I think a law such as that a disgrace to the "British Empire."

It may be asked, what were the reasons which induced Parliament to sanction a Council? Doubtless, when India was transferred to the Crown, it was intended that the Council should exercise similar control over Indian expenditure as had formerly been exercised by the Court of Directors, for they had a legal status in the Queen's Bench, and every question of finance involved between India and England could be tried as a question of strict law by the highest court of the land. The terms of the Constitution are so vague that it is even in doubt whether or not a Secretary of State can spend the

revenues of India beyond the frontiers of India without bringing the subject under the notice of the Council at all. It has been asserted, upon the authority of the late Mr. Fawcett:—

"That Indian expenditure has over and over again been "sacrificed to English Estimates."

It may plausibly be argued that a Secretary of State should be guided by men specially trained to Indian affairs, but this reason has lost much of its force by the fact that the Secretary of State can now consult by telegram daily with a Viceroy and Council in India, who can render more effective assistance than any Council in London, whose knowledge is quite out of date to present requirements. Even by the present imperfect arrangements, when questions admit of delay, officials are summoned from India with the latest experience for the guidance of the Secretary of State and Parliamentary Committees, showing that implicit reliance cannot be placed upon the advice of the present members of the Council. The advice of the Council in the nature of things cannot always be impartial, as they are often called upon to give advice regarding measures initiated by themselves when on active service in India.

The Government of India are very large, if not the largest proprietors of railways in the world. Yet the advice which the Council tenders upon railways can be of little service, as there is not a single member of the Council with practical experience concerning railways; any experience they have gained has been at the expense of India. The Government of India's trading transactions are upon an enormous scale, yet, with one exception, commerce is entirely unrepresented, and in this single exception the member has never been in India.

If this institution is still to survive, then the commercial interests of the United Kingdom and India should be very

largely represented, and means should be taken to ascertain publicly the esteem in which gentlemen are held by the commercial communities who are proposed for this office, so as to prevent members from being selected because they hold no strongly pronounced views on any subject whatever. They should further have the privilege of exclusively advising upon commercial questions, so as to relieve civil and military members from the distasteful duty of advising on subjects concerning which they are ignorant. The like privilege, of course, being granted to civil and military members.

If a Council must be retained, then by all means let its ordinary proceedings be published, so that the public and Parliament can correctly estimate the value of the advice which it tenders. The days have long ceased when any body of men can be trusted with what practically are secret and irresponsible powers. If there is one fact more clearly established in the history of India than another, it is that the interference of Parliament has always been most beneficial. Yet, by the present constitution, a member of Parliament, although eligible for a seat in the Cabinet, is debarred from having a seat in this Council.

We write in despair, and would welcome any change as an improvement on existing arrangements. Many are of opinion that the necessity for a Council has ceased to exist, and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons would exercise a better and more impartial control over the officials of India, and at the same time tend to the formation of a healthy public opinion on all questions relating to that great country.

# ANNEXURE.

RETURN of the Members of the Council of India, showing their Names, Ages, Professions, and the Period of their Residence, and the Nature of their Service in India, the Date of their Appointment to the Council, and the nature of their Tenure of Office.

THOU TOURS OF						
NAMES.	Ages.	Profes- sions.	Period of Residence in India.	Dates of Appointment to Council.	Nature of Service in India.	Nature of Tenure of Office.
Sir Robert Mont- 74 gomery, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., LL.D.	74	Bengal Civil Service	1828 to 1865	1828 to 21 September 1868	Revenue, Judicial, and Administrative Appointments,— Commissioner of Lahore, and Member of 122 Vict. C. 106, S. xi. the Board of Administration, Punjab.	Ouring good behaviour, under Act of 1858, 21 & 22 Vict. C. 106, 8. xi.
Sir Frederick James Halliday, K.C.B.	77	Ditto	1825 to 1859	1835 to 30 September 1868	Chief Commissioner of Oudn. Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab Revenue, Judicial, and Administrative Appointments,— Secretary to the Board of Revenue.	Ditto ditto.
					Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial and Revenue Departments. Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department. Member of the Governor-General's Coun-	
Major General Sir 73 Henry Creswicke	73	Bombay Army	1827 to 1856	Director of the East India Company, 10th April	1827 to Director of the East India Military, Political, and Diplomatic Appoint- 1856 Company, 10th A pril mental M	Ditto ditto.
rawinison, k. c. B.				cil, and September 1858; retired in 1859 on ap- pointment as Envoy to the Court of Persia; re- appointed, oth October		
Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.L. LL.D., D.C.L.	5	Barrister	1862 to 1869	1868 2 November 1871	Law Member of the Council of the Governor- 1869, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97. For life under Act of 1876, 39 Vict. c. 7.	Ten years under Act of 1869, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97. For life under Act of 1876, 39 Vict. c. 7.

NAMES.	Ages.	Profes- sions.	Period 'of Resi- dence in India.	Dates of Appointment to Council.	t Nature of Service in India.	Nature of Tenure of Office.
The Honourable Edmund Drum- mond.	70	Bengal Civil Service	1823 to	9 February 1875	Reyenue, Judicial, and Administrative Ap- Ten years under Act of pointments,—  Accountant-General to the Government of India.  Auditor General.  Government Director of the Bank of	Fen years under Act of 1869, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97.
					Bengal. Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department. Lieutenant-Governor North-West Prov-	
Sir Barrow Heibert Ellis, K.C.S.I.	59	Bombay Civil Service	1842 to 1875	1842 to 14 July 1875	Revenue, Judicial, and Administrative Appointments,— Member of Council of the Governor of	Ditto ditto.
					Membay. Membay. Logic Council of the Governor-Gene-	
Colonel Henry Yule, R. E., C. B.	64	Royal Engineers		1838 to 23 October 1875	Military, Survey, and Public Works appoint- Ten years under Act of ments.— 1860, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97.	Ten years under Act of 1869, 32 & 33 Vict. C. 97.
		(Bengal)			Secretary to the Government of India Forlife under Act of 1876,	For life under Act of 1876,
Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D.,	65	Bengal Civil	1837 to 1876	1837 to 28 November 1876 1876	Revenue, Judicial, and Administrative Ap- Ten years under Act of pointments,—	39 Vict. C. 7. Fen years under Act of 1969, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97.
D.C.L.		Service			Secretary to, and Member of, the Board of Revenue, Agra.	
					Secretary to the Government, North-West Provinces.	
					Foreign Secretary to the Government of	
					Member of the Legislative Council of	
					Ordina. Ordina. Ordina.	
					Lieus Covernor, North-West Pro-	
					Finance Member of Council of the Governor-General of India.	

Nature of Tenure of Office,	Ditto ditto.	Ditto ditto.	Ten years under Act of 1869, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97. For life under Act of 1876, 39 Vict. c. 7.	Ten years under Act of 1860, 32 & 33 Vict. C. 97.	Ditto ditto	Ditto ditto
Nature of Service in India.	Revenue, Judicial, and Administrative Appointments,— Member of the Revenue Board. Revenue Secretary, and Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras. Chief Commissioner of Mysore.	Member of the Legislative Council of India Military	5 January 1875 Military and Public Works Appointments,— Re-appointed 11 March Secretary to the Government of India, 1869, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97. Public Works Department (Railway For life under Act of 1876, Member of the Legislative Council of 1976.	Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India. President of the Famine Commission.	Nevenue, Judicial, and Administrative Appointments,— Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Chief Commissioner of British Burmah. Acting Member of La Council of the Governor-General of La.	Lieutenan-Governor of Bengal.  Military and Political Appointments,— Resident at Hyderabad, Adjutant-General and Chief of the Staff in India.
Dates of Appointment to Council.	1 November 1877	22 July 1878		088	1882 1882	1 December 1883
Period of Residence in India.	1850 to	1836 to 1846, and from	1859 1836 to 1875, and from 1877 to 1879	nil.	1882 1882	1847 to 1883
Profes- sions.	Madras Civil Service	British Army	Royal Engineeri (Bengal)	Banker	Civil Service	Bengal Army
Ages.	53	99	99	5.6	23.3	55
NAMES.	Robert Anstruther Dalyell, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.	Lieutenant-Gener- al Charles Foster, c. b.	Lieutenant General Richard Strachey, R.E., C.S.1.	Bertram Wode- houseCurrie, Esq. The Honourabl.	Sir Ashley Eden,	Major-General Sir Peter Stark Lumsden, K.C.B., C.S.I.

India Office, 7 June, 1884.

Charles C. Prinsep, Statistical Reporter.

CORDI

į t

WITH THE

The second of th

Note again or or hands a

### COBDEN CLUB LEAFLETS

The Dog and the Shadow. 1.

What does Reciprocity-Protection propose to do? 2.

The Results of Protection in Germany. 3.

The Rt. Hon. John Bright, M.P., on "Fair Trade." 4.

Mr. Arthur Arnold, M.P., on "Fair Trade." Bread Tax Once More. From "Punch." 5.

6.

A Catechism for "Fair Traders." By the Rt. Hon. W. 7. E. BAXTER, M.P.

Free Trade and the Working Men. By the Rt. Hon. W. 8. E. BAXTER, M.P.

9. \*Fair Trade and Free Trade. By Sir B. SAMUELSON, Bart., M.P.

Free Trade; What it does for England, and How it does it. By George W. Medley.

Facts for Artisans. By George W. Medley.

Mr. Cobden on "Re-distribution of Seats." 10.

11.

12.

13. \*Protection in France.

14. \*Facts for Labourers. By George W. Medley.

15. \*The Farmers and Protection. By Charles Whitehead. Facts for Farmers. No. I.—Depression in Agriculture. 16. By GEORGE W. MEDLEY.

17. The Effects of Protection in America. By Sir WILLIAM

Bower Forwood.

Would Protection remove the present Distress, and
Benefit the Working Man? By Joseph Arch.

The Condon 18.

19. The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle on the Cobden Club Leaflets.

20. Memorial Verses on Richard Cobden, 1865.

Robbing a Thousand Peters to pay One Paul.
George Jacob Holyoake. 21. Bv

22. Less Free Trade or More: Which Shall it be?  $B_{V}$ J. Hampden Jackson.

23. \*Facts for Farmers. No. II.—Depression in Agriculture. By George W. Medley.

24. \*Fair Trade: its Impossibility. By Sydney Buxton, M.P.

25. Reciprocity Explained. By George Jacob Holyoake.
26. \*Words of Warning to Agricultural Labourers and other Working Men. By ALFRED SIMMONS, the Leader of the Kent and Sussex Labourers.

How they Succeed in Canada. (From the Agricultural Ga-27.

zette, January 5th, 1885.)

28. Free Trade and Fair Trade: What do the Words Mean?
By JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS.

29. \*Free Trade v. Protection (alias "Reciprocity," alias "Fair

Trade"). By JOHN NOBLE.

30. The British Peasant on the Right Hon. J. Lowther's Proposition—that he should pay "a farthing a week" on his Bread, to benefit the Landed Interest.

The Farmer of Kent. (From the Suffolk Chronicle of forty 31. years ago.)

32. Will a Five-Shilling Duty on Corn raise the Price of Bread? By Edward North Buxton.

33. The United States Protection versus British Free Trade. By the Right Hon. W. E. BAXTER, M.P.

34. The Rt. Hon. J. Bright on the Safety of the Ballot.

35. \*The Secrecy of the Ballot.

Supplied by Messrs. Cassell & Company, Limited, La Belle Sawage, London. E.C., in packets of 100, price 1s. These marked \* 2s. per 100.

### WORKS PUBLISHED FOR THE COBDEN CLUB

By CASSELL & COMPANY, Limited.

- Local Government and Taxation in the United Kingdom. With Contributions by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, C. T. D. ACLAND, M.P., LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, M.P., &c. &c. Edited by J. W. Probyn. Cloth, price 5s.
- A Primer of Tariff Reform. By DAVID A. WELLS (U.S. America). Price 6d.
- The Reform of the English Land System. By the Hon. George C. Brodrick, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, Author of "English Land and English Landlords." Price 3d.
- The Three Panics. An Historical Episode. By RICHARD COBDEN. Price 1s.
- Free Trade versus Fair Trade. By Sir T. H. FARRER, Bart., Secretary to the Board of Trade. New Edition.
- Free Trade and English Commerce. By Augustus Mongredien. New and Revised Edition, 6d.
- England under Free Trade. By G. W. Medley. Price 3d.
- Pleas for Protection Examined. By Augustus Mon-GREDIEN. Price 6d.
- Popular Fallacies regarding Trade and Foreign Duties: Being the "SOPHISMES ÉCONOMIQUES" of FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT. Adapted to the Present Time by E. R. PEARCE-EDGCUMBE. Price 6d.
- The Reciprocity Craze: A Tract for the Times. By George W. Medley. Price 3d.
- Depression in the West Indies: Free Trade the only Remedy. By C. S. SALMON. Price 6d.
- Western Farmer of America. By Augustus MongreDIEN. Price 3d.
- Our Land Laws of the Past. By the Right Hon. W. E. BAXTER, M.P. Price 3d.
- The Transfer of Land by Registration under the Duplicate Method operative in British Colonies. By Sir ROBERT TORRENS, K.C.M.G. Price 6d.